582 would be called hokoi´šan yiwi´nši (sister
582 marriage) and would evoke the scorn of all who
588 knew of it. J.B. spoke contemptuously of two recently married young Waksachi who are second cousins. He added that he thought "people to the north" married their cousins. No special punishment was attempted in the old days when such a marriage occurred. The parents of both participants, having done their best to prevent it by verbal argument, would not, and apparently could not, do anything more. There was undoubtedly a loss of social prestige, but how far this affected the offspring of such a union cannot be said. The mere fact that informants could not formulate rules for these marriages is in itself an indication that commonsense entered, according to the particular circumstances. J.B. said that such marriages "never occurred with the Wukchumni" and, while there is no genealogical evidence to prove the contrary, we can scarcely accept a complete negative. No form of "uncle" marriage was known.

[558]

582 A man could marry where he wished, within
591 the tribe, within his own village, and even a woman having the same family totem as himself, provided no recognized blood-tie existed. If he had been betrothed to a girl at her first menses, he might, were he old enough, soon seek her bed at night. But in doing so he committed himself to a serious union with the girl and to obligations in the provision of food to her
583 family. For two or three months he rose early,
591 going for the morning bath and thence to his parents' home for breakfast. During the day he would fish or hunt, taking the game to his wife's home and remaining there for the evening meal. If he did not go there he hung about the sweat house and slept there at night; this was especially true if the girl's home was already crowded.

This sojourn at the girl's home was looked upon as a temporary arrangement and rarely lasted out a year. If the girl became pregnant at once, she usually wanted to stay with her mother until her baby came (M.L.).

After that the couple moved either to the husband's home or to a house of their own. When gathering seeds, or on any other food-collecting expedition, the young wife joined her mother if it were physically possible. If she did not accompany her mother, then she did not join her mother- and sisters-in-law but attended to household tasks and helped in the preparation of the food when it was brought in.

584 It may appear that a young man and woman were wholly independent in their choice of a mate, and especially so in their married life. But the parents of both participants exerted strong personal influence. They frequently arranged betrothals at puberty and made every effort to see that the marriage not only took place, but continued. The parents-in-law and their brothers and sisters all called each other by the reciprocal term ma´kši from the time the betrothal took place.

[601]

When the funds were accepted, the recipients had the opportunity to indulge in trading on this one- to three-months' loan and to make among themselves, and probably with the coast traders beyond, more than the 100 per cent they had guaranteed to return.

If, at the time of the ceremony, the full amount was not made up, as much as possible was returned. The chief held the accounts, and as much cash as possible was contributed by his subchiefs (tuye'i) in an effort to meet the demand: the subchiefs were obligated to help make up this deficit, whereas ordinary citizens were not. If there was still a shortage of actual money, it was equated in commodities. Thus several hunters would be dispatched to get deer, or any available game. (The Gawia were laughed at for always supplying ground squirrels on such occasions.) And women were called upon to make up quantities of acorn meal. However, these foods were not brought with the money but were sent to the host tribe just before the ceremony, and the hosts bought the food as part of their needed supplies while the money went over to the recipient tribe to help meet the shortage. The collecting of food to be sold in this manner was called ka´suwaš.

Another method of raising money was for the recipient tribe to enter its shamans in the Shamans' Contest. These men would be paid by the host tribe, and while they retained part of the payment for themselves, their singers, and their winatums, a good portion (what percentage I could not determine) went to their chief.

Furthermore, the gifts received at the finale of the ceremony could be sold on the spot, taken home, given away, or used as payment on borrowed money.

This whole method of money exchange was not necessarily carried out between tribes, but might be an inter-person affair. Thus a mourner, to raise money, would lend sums to several individuals in order to receive interest from each. Such lending was of normal occurrence in Yokuts life, but the heightened need for money at a mourning ceremony emphasized the practice.

Both sexes contributed in all affairs wherein money was called for: women acquired money by selling baskets, blankets, pots, mats, etc., to each other or to men.

Reciprocity

The washing functions at the close of a mourning ceremony were traditionally arranged between certain families of certain tribes. But while the actual washing was a between-family function, the whole tribe of the washers was regarded as reciprocal to the whole host tribe in the entire function.

The pairs of Wukchumni and Waksachi families who stood in this reciprocal relation were named by J.B., and corroboration of some of

6: Gayton E-5 (1925-1928) 1930
NS29 Yokuts NS29

money and food so adjusted that there was no unexpected loss to any of the participants. These matters, together with the wishes of other chiefs, the bereaved families, and guest tribes had to be managed to the satisfaction of all persons involved. This in itself is not so difficult, save that it called for executive talents which every man might not possess.

The greatest responsibility of a chief was the settlement of quarrels and granting permission to kill a supposed murderer. This responsibility was increased rather than lessened by the absence of codified legal system. A chief making an unsatisfactory decision could not excuse it on the ground that he was simply reading the law; he was personally responsible for the results of his counsel. To this end, he did not always depend upon his own judgment but sought the opinion of another chief or of respected elders. The hearing of cases did not take place publicly, but in or before the chief's house. This privacy did not matter, for a man who left dissatisfied aired his grievance to his neighbors. The community was small: there was little chance for secrecy, what one man knew, everybody knew. Lacking newspapers, gossip was rife. Popular sentiment turned against the chief who gave unfair decisions, or was suspected of self-aggrandizement. Such a man was not deposed from office, but gradually lost prestige. He was ignored in favor of another chief. If necessary, a new chief could be selected from among possible heirs, as a brother, or son, or even a cousin. Such a drastic procedure was rare, unless the incumbent were insensible. The chief, holding the highest place of respect in the community, would not care to lose it. Loss of respect, loss of prestige, in turn meant loss of wealth, a combination of disasters which no normal man wished to bring upon himself. The intriguing chief could and did hold office, but his selfish enterprises were carried on in secrecy and curbed by public opinion.

The foregoing discussion has attempted to demonstrate the factors in the political system of Yokuts and Western Mono culture whereby orderly social activity was maintained. The activities of its citizens were at once protected and restrained by two forces, one, based upon legality, the traditional authority vested in the chief; the other, based upon belief in sorcery, the occult power wielded largely by shamans. Chiefs and shamans, who sometimes combined these two forces in intrigue were in turn restrained in their activities by the threat of loss of prestige, and of untimely death.